A DISCOVRSE OF THE VSAGE OF the Engliſh Fugitiues, by *the Spaniard.*

LODON,
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1595.

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THE COPIE OF A Letter sent out of the Low countries by a Gentleman entertained by the King of Spaine in pension:

To a yong Gentleman his Kinsman in ENGLAND.

MY very good Cosin, vnderstanding as well by your Letters, as by the message lately done vnto me by the mouth of *A. T.* of the great longing and desire you haue to draw your self into these parts, & to imploy your selfe here in seruice of the Spanish king: & perceiuing also as well by your sayd Letters, as by the Gen-

tleman that brought the ſame, and by the reporte of diuerſe other young Gentlemen of our Countrie, there bee manye that are of your minde in that point: Some thereunto, as I doo geſſe, moued of a youthfull and vaine tickling humour, to bee wandering abroade in ſtraunge and forreine Countries: Others in hope there to growe to greate preferment, aduauncement, imployment, and wealth: Other ſome pretending matter of conſcience, ſeeme to haue ſure confidence, that there they maye liue with more libertie and eaſe of minde, then that within our Countrie they inioye. I haue thought good for the particular

lar loue which I beare, and alwayes haue borne towardes you, vnto whome I wiſh as to my ſelfe, but chiefely in reſpecte of the ſincere, faythfull, reuerent, and loyall fidelitye and regarde I haue to the perſon of our ſacred, renowmed, and moſt gracious Soueraigne, the QVEENES moſt excellent Maieſtie, and to my natiue Countrie and Countrye-men, ro ſette downe ſome notes and obſeruations, vvhich by long and painefull troubles and experience in this place I haue gathered: by which I hope I ſhall make manifeſt not onelye to you, but alſo to all others my moſt deare Countrye men, if I maye haue the fauour to haue

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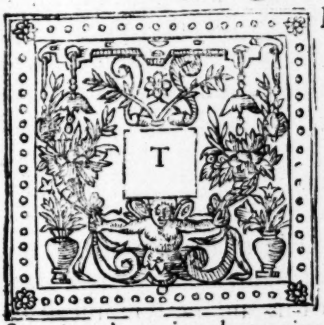
it published: in which point I meane to labor by my beſt friends, to ſuch of the greateſt perſons as may permit the ſame, how greatly you and they that deſire to repaire hether by any of the motions before expreſſed, or in anye hope of good to be receiued from the ſayde King, doo erre and are deceiued. I heartely and moſt earneſtly deſire you, & all other that ſhall reade the ſame, deeplye to iudge and conſider of theſe points which I ſhall ſet downe, which (God willing) I wil doo with ſuch fidelitie, true meaning, and ſinceritie, as that no parte of the ſame ſhall bee truly to bee gainſayde or refelled, and my ſelfe by the perſons, times, and places, and other cir-

circumſtances ſhall make moſt manyfeſt and plaine, to anie that ſhal doubt of the truth of the ſame or any part thereof, & I ſhal take great ioy & comfort, if my ſelf hauing vndertaken an vntowardlye & dangerous courſe, though with better ſucceſſe then hath happened to many hundreds, may be as a caueat to all the young Gentlemen of our Nation, how they hazard themſelues ſo dangerouſlie. And that my painfull experience may be to you as a looking Glas, wherein they maye beholde the ſpots & errours of theyr conceyued fanſies, or as markes ſette vp for them, whereby they maye auoide the perilles & moſt daungerous rockes and ſhelfes, to

them yet vnknowen, & lying hidden vnder the ſmooth, faire, and delighful conceiued and fantaſied pleaſures forged in theyr imaginations.

THE METHOD OF the insuing Discourse.



THE method and manner that I intend to vse in this Discourse, shall bee after this sorte. First, I will directe my speeches to the vnexperienced Gentlemen, desirous to serue here in *Spaine*, shewing them in what point of their hope and expectations they doo faile and are deceiued.

Secondly, to our credulous Papistes at home, vpon whose grosenesse and simplicitie, our rebellious traitors heere abroade doo build their chiefest foundations of all their villanies, whom while they entertaine with vaine expectations, in the meane time with spies, Priests, and traitours, which they daily send ouer, they abuse with trecherous practises, to the irrepiable ruine and ouerthrowe of them and theirs. Thirdly, becausе many of our countrie

men liuing in great happineſſe at home, doo yet in their conceits miſlike, ſurfetting with eaſe, the bleſſed eſtate they liue in, and what withall, the manner of her Maieſties moſt gracious and mercifull gouernment, I haue thought it my dutie ſomewhat to expreſſe theſe few things which haue come to my knowledge, touching the innumerable benefites & bleſsings with which it hath pleaſed God to adorn her royall Maieſtie, together with the flouriſhing eſtate of that noble ſoyle, ſince the time of her Maieſties raigne, ſo flouriſhing with peace, proſperitie, and abundance in glorie of warres, ſo renowmed and victorious in artes, ſo curious and excellent in iuſtice, euen to the verie enemie, ſo admirable, and (which ſurpaſſeth all the reſt) in the free, ſweet, and comfortable vſe of the true religion: ſo aboue all others bleſſed and fortunate, that I haue hearde the verie Spaniardes themſelues ſaie, they feare Ieſus Chriſt is become a proteſtant. Withal, I make ſome compariſon betweene this and the tyrannicall gouernment of the Spaniſh tyrant, his cruell and inhumane vſage of his miſerable ſubiects, theyr abolition of their priuiledges, and in fine, the vnſpeakable bondage, ſlauerie, and deſolate deſpayre in which they liue languiſhing. A matter though farre vnfit for mee to handle or treate, but worthie of the moſt graue and experienced men of qualitie and higheſt degree, yet conſidering I ſhall not preſume to treate of matters of high ſtate or ſecrets, but ſuch as euerie good ſubiect may find and pick out of the heroicall actions of the one, and the tyrannicall inſolence

ſolence of the other, both non in the appearance of the world, I hope and ſo with all lowlyneſſe moſt humblie deſire her gracious and moſt benigne Maieſtie to pardon mee, if I come farre ſhort of that which men fitter for the handling therof could ſaie or intreat. And ſo moſt humbly alſo make petition, that I may therin be cenſured according to the loiall zeale I beare to her moſt princely Maieſtie, and not to the baſeneſſe and ſimplicity of my ſtile or the handling thereof.

But to come to my Diſcourſe, to the end that you and the reſt of your opinion, may cleerely and plainly diſcerne thoſe things which hetherto your eyes blinded with the vaile of partialitie, haue not bin able to view: I will begin with the good vſage, honor and aduancement that you and other Gentlemen addicted to this ſeruice are heere to expect, bringing vnto you for example, ſundrie braue and worthie Gentlemen, Captaines, and ſouldiers, that haue taken the lyke courſe before you, wherby you ſhal perceiue it is not all gold that gliſtreth, but that whatſoeuer ſhew the Spaniard maketh vnto vs, yet in his hart he mortally abhorreth vs, & by all means poſsible ſeeketh our deſtruction, ruine, & ſubuertion, as it euidently appeareth by his vſage of troupes and companies of our nation that haue ſerued him. For example: at the ſiege of *Antwarpe* there came vnto him vnder the conduct of *Norris* and *Corniſh*, a troup of ſix thouſand, the talleſt and beſt appointed ſouldiers, that euer I remember to haue ſeene in all my lyfe, theyr comming beeing the onely cauſe

that the towne was ſo ſoone deliuered vnto him as it was. For whereas the Duke of *Anion* laie vnder the walles of *Gaunt*, with ſufficient force and moſt deliberate reſolution to ſuccour the ſayd towne of *Antwarpe* vpon his mutinie, fearing further inconuenience, he marched awaie with his whole camp, leauing the enemie now battering the towne, who ſeeing themſelues fruſtrate of their expected hope, preſently rendered the ſame to the Duke of Parma. But how were they recompenced? VVithin one yeere they were ſo all to ſamiſh for hunger, which ſome of them ſeeking to releeue, by foreranging out vpon the Countrie, foure and twentie of them were taken and carried to *Antwarpe*, of whoſe beginning they were the chiefeſt, and there openlye hanged in the market place. Whereas all other nations had libertie to robbe and ſteale, and do what they liſt. Another troupe of them of thirtie, beeing foorth, and lying in a village neere *Poppering* in *Flanders*, a company of Spaniards hearing of them, came into the village where they were, and after friendly and ſouldierlye ſalutation of each ſide, as they were all making merrie together, on a ſodayne the Spapiardes tooke them at aduauntage vnarmed, and moſt trecherouſly and inhumanely murthered them euerie one. Sundrie complaints were made to the Duke by the friendes of thoſe that were thus murthered, and by the Captaines of the Regiment, but there could bee no remedie nor iuſtice obtained. But to make amendes, becauſe they would bee the cleanlier ridde of the reſidue of this poore

poore miſerable troupe, the campe beeing then before *Winockbergen*, they made them two little fortes of purpoſe, in which they willingly placed them in the vtmoſt quarter of the whole camp, and neereſt confining to the towne, to the end they might haue all their throates cut, as in deed they had verie few nightes after. At which time the enemie aſſaulting them with great furie, and they defending themſelues moſt manfully aboue the ſpace of an houre, in ſuch ſort as the alarum paſſed through the whole campe, yet they were neuer releeued with any ſuccour at all, inſomuch that the greateſt part of them beeing ſlaine in defence, the enemie at laſt entered and put the reſidue to the ſwoord.

To rehearſe vnto you the ſundrie and ſeuerall calamities that theſe poore men, as well Captaines as ſouldiers endured, during the ſmall time of that theyr vnfortunate ſeruice, eſpeciallye at *Ganskecke*, *Aske*, and *Grauer*, would ſeeme (I am ſure) vnto you for the vnſpeakable ſtrangeneſſe thereof, ſcarcely credible, for they neuer receiued all the time of their ſeruice anie one moneths paie. I haue ſeene Lieutenants and Enſignes of them go vp and down the campe begging their bread, couered only with olde mantles about their ſhoulders, and haue my ſelfe releeued ſome of them. Shortly after came *Pigot*, who brought with him ſir *Iohn Norris* his regiment, beeing well neere a thouſand, as tall and well appointed men as were in Europe, whoſe ſeruice, how meritorious and beneficiall it was vnto the Spaniardes, I leaue to their iudgementes that know

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the Countrie. For by rendering of *Aloſt* vnto him, they were the occaſion that he got *Darmounde* the *Saſſe*, the fortes of *Leiskins hooke*, Saint *Anthonies*, and Saint *Margarets*, the beſt part of the land of *Waſt*, & in manner *Gaunt* it ſelfe, as the ſequel ſhewed. Notwithſtanding all which ſeruice, they were wythin two yeeres ſpace, what with hunger, the gallowes, & rigorous dealing, conſumed and brought to nothing. And laſt at *Stalbrooke*, euen againſt the yeelding vp of *Antwarp*, when all other nations were to receiue their count and reckoning, they onely were infamouſly caſhierd without anie one monethes pay. And which of all other is moſt monſtrous and ſcarſe credible, whereas ſome of the Captaines, not long before had made them of theyr owne purſes new and fayre Enſignes, thoſe Enſignes were violently taken awaie from thoſe that bare them, and detained: Which abuſe and wrong, though captain *Treſham* and the other Captaines complained off to the Duke with great proteſtations, yet they coulde neuer obtaine anie reſtitution.

Somewhat before this time, when the whole campe was at the ſiege of *Dermound* paide two moneths, they onely though of all others moſt trauelled in the trenches, wading euerie night boſome high to theyr waſt, and hauing had more men ſlaine in that ſiege than anie other regiment in the whole campe, could not receiue one pennie, notwithſtanding they had paſſed in muſter with the reſt, and ſome of the Captaines bribed the Commiſſarie, thinking thereby to make a great hand. But in ſtead

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of money, when they shewed the Duke, they were scornfully by him turned of to the Contadores, of whom they receiued the most base & opprobrious speeches that euer were giuen soldiers, & were in fine reiected without euer receiuing one halfpeny. And lastly, when the Regiment was cast, whereas the pay of a reformed Captaine amongst them, of what Nation soeuer he bee, is fortie crownes, they giue onely to our English captaines fiue and twentie a moneth. Not long before it chanced that one of the Captains, whose name was *Edward Vincent*, was taken in a skirmish by the enemie at *Pernence*, and set at ransome at a hundred and fiftie poundes, to make which raunsome, his father being then in *Flanders*, a poore olde man of seuenty yeres of age, fell vpon his knees before the Duke, weeping and imploring his help. But in sted of yeelding him releefe, the Duke badde take awaie the olde dronken foole: the griefe whereof strake the old man so to the heart, that he went home and dyed within sixe dayes, and his sonne for lacke of his raunsome was shortly after hanged at *Perges*. *Pigot* himselfe being some three yeeres since taken, and *Barne*, betweene *Gaunt* and *Bruges*, were neuer releeued with anie one pennie towardes their charges or raunsomes, *Pigot* was suffred miserably to end his daies in prison, and so had *Barne* also, but that his wife, by her solicitation, found such fauour among his priuate friends, that she got as much as paide his raunsome, but neuer could obtaine one pennie of the Duke, though shee were an importunate sutor vnto him.

Lastly, came sir *W. Standley* and *R. Yorke* rendering vnto the King the towne of *Deuenter*, & fort of *Sutphen*, the one with a regiment of foote, the other with a company of lances. Let vs see howe the one and the other was vsed. First, sir *William Standley* was confirmed gouernour of the Towne, hee rendered, and his regiment left there in garrison, with the receit of two moneths pay. For a while he liued in the greatest applause that might be: Cardinal *Allen* was written to to send downe Priests to instruct this religious regiment: hee informed the Pope thereof, who wrote ioyntly to the king to be good vnto this regiment. VVhich being well and liberally intreated, as they had already at *Rhemes* and *Rome*, a Seminary of schollers to pray and write for the catholike cause of our Country, so this conducted by so worthy and catholike a Gentleman as sir *William Standley* was, might be a continuall nursery, and seminary of souldiours to fight for the same. Downe came Priestes thicke and three fold, from *France* and *Italy*, many Masses, and much preaching there was: Gentlemen from all parts drew downe thither, in hope of this good payment, and golden world that thē was talked of. But what folowed? within short space, to weaken their number, three of their companies vnder colour of seruice, were cunningly drawen out of the Towne by *Verdugo Haaltephen*, neuer from that time after being suffred to returne to it againe: & within a while after sir *William* him selfe with the remnant, was commanded vnder the

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lyke colour of ſeruice, to come foorth, beeing tolde that hee ſhoulde preſently returne into it againe. And by this fine meanes was caſed of his gouernment, and ſuch goods as he and his ſouldiers lefte, were ſpoiled & made bootie of. And ſithence that time, his ſeminary ſoldiers, with al their religion, were neuer truſted in any towne, nor neuer ſhalbe I warrant them. From thence they were preſently drawen downe into *Brabant*, where they wintered in the field without mohie, and in ſuch great miſerie and pouertie, that tenne weekes together their chiefeſt foode and ſuſtenaunce in *Turnolt*, was vnpoudered acornes, which they founde in cellers. VVhich diet the prieſts not liking of, came to their Coronell to *Antwerpe*, who to auoid the lamentations and complaints of his ſouldiers, had gotten him there a lodging, where you ſhould neuer haue foūd his table without a ſquadron of Prieſts. Some did wonder, ſo worthy a ſouldier could ſuffer their indignities, which to auoide, ſome yeeres ſince hee went into Spaine: partlye to ſecure vnto himſelfe ſome eſtate of liuing, of which he now conſidering this dealing, began to doubt: partly by the inuitation of the Ieſuites, with which order hee is exceedingly inchanted, & to thē wholy ſubiected: who dealt for him in ſuch ſort with the Cardinall, that he preſently ſent *Parſons* away into Spaine, to informe the King of his worthineſſe, vertue, and experience of the ſea coaſtes of England, but eſpecially of his intelligence about Irelande, which in truth hee preſumeth to bee verie greate. *Parſons*

plaide his part in ſuch ſort, that ſir *William* was preſently ſent for: who vpon his ariuall, did what he could, to perſwade the king to ſend forces for Ireland: but belyke there was not ſuch credite giuen him as hee expected, inſomuch that he wrote Letters to *H. Holt* the Ieſuit in *Bruſels* (which is one of thoſe on whom he chiefly relyeth) of great diſcontentmēt, ſignifieng, that his entertainment was far colder than he expected. VVithin ſhort ſpace after, he was ſent downe to the kings nauie, lying at *Coconia* where as yet he remaineth. In the meane time his regiment began to drop and droupe awaie, in ſuch ſort, that what for lacke of ſuſtenance, & what for ill vſage, the number of them was melted to an hundred and fiftie: which baſe and villanous vſage the graueſt and wiſeſt of his Captains ſeeing, eſpecially abhorring the trecherous practiſes of their Coronell, made by ſecrete meanes humble interceſsion to her moſt gracious MAIESTIE to pardon theyr offences committed, and to grant them libertie to liue in their Country: which of her moſt princely and royall benignitie ſhee graunted, ſo as now they liue here in honeſt and good ſort, & can teſtifie all this which I haue ſayd to be true.

Hauing gotten ſir *William* out of *Deuenter*, yet *Yorke* ſtill remained a blemiſh in their eie, who alwais, notwithſtanding their baſe vſage, ſtil flouriſhed & bare his head aloft, ranging ouer the whole countrie with his Companie, bringing in daylye many great and rich booties: Him therefore fairly on a daie at dinner, they cauſed to bee poyſoned,

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where likewise were poisned with him yong *Richard Souch*, & *Robert Fen* priest: but he belike hauing swalowed the best Boncon, they only met with the drams, so that he died miserablie, and they fell sick and brake out into many pustles & biles, yet afterwardes recouered, and did giue this testimony. His breath was no sooner out of his bodie, but *Fioras* a Spaniard, and *Vandenberg*, the newe gouernour of *Deuenter* tusht into his lodging to breake vp his coffers. in which being withstoode by *Yorkes* lieutenant *Edward Boncer*, and his brother, they caused their gards at noone dayes to enter in vpon them, and to murther them both in their owne presence: which done, they brake vp his coffers, took out his iewels, plate and mony, of which they found great store, appropriating the same to their townes vse, which he by Testament had giuen to a little youth his nephew, being now at this present in *England*. Lastly, they chased his whole companie out of the towne, and spoiled their baggage at the gates. The poore souldiers beeing thus inhumanely depriued of their Captaine and Lieutenant, and seeing them selues so vilely dealt with, repaired to *Verstugo* for releese, who for recompence presentlye cashierd them all without receit of one pennie.

Afterwardes they gaue out and published, that *Yorke* was poisoned by subornation of the counsel of England: but, if there had bene no other proofes (as there were infinite) yet the sequele of their doings, their murthering of his friends, and their robbing of his treasure, shewed by whom it was done,

and whereat they aymed.

If these examples bee not inough to serue the turne, but that perchance you will say, he hath delt better with priuate men. If you can name me but any one that he hath raised or aduanced to honor, or that liueth richly or welthily in his seruice, I wil name you an hundred, that beeing Gentlemen of good houses and of worthie merite, haue consumed, languished, and beene brought to nothing in his seruice, some of them perished & died for lacke of sustenance. You perchance will name *Hugh Owen*: and in good faith hee is the onely man that euer I knew aduanced, credited, or graced in his seruice. And yet (God wot) all that hee getteth, is no more than to maintaine him in a meane estate and shew, with a man only or two to serue him. VVhere on the other side I will reckon you vp of those that are onely for want of thinges necessarie, and of pure pouertie consumed and dead, *M. Copley*, I. *Dauers*, *Michael Tempest*, old *Norton*, *Tremaine*, *Stradling*, *Henrie Carew*, *Edward Allen*, *Southwell*, with sundry others of good race and credite in their Countrie: *Copley* being sicke at *Beuere*, and in vnspeakable distresse and calamitie, desired a Gentleman his kinsman, one *Lo. Lewkner*, to beseech *Pedro de Olane*, who then was treasurer, to pay him vpon an assignation which hee had, onely fiue pounds, protesting that at that present his life might therewith be saued. The Gentleman performed his request with all instance and fidelitie, as he hath oftentimes told me, but coulde not obtaine one pennie, VVhere-

vpon hee mooued the Duke, but nothing woulde come, so that without finding any man that tooke compassion of his distresse, his owne Countriemen being vnable to helpe him, hee ended his life, though with patience vertuously and well, yet the state of so honorable a gentleman considered, most pittifully, and in great misery.

To recite vnto you the names of those that doe yet liue so poorely and vncomfortably in his pension, would bee too long, and therefore take them all in generall (*Charles Paget* onely excepted) and examine them one from an other, from my Lord of *Westmerland* downeward, euen to the very lowest: and if there bee in the whole worlde a more miserable and discontented troupe of Gentlemen than they are, let me neuer be credited in any thing else that I shall tel you. And because you shal your selfe the beteer iudge, I will tell you what payment they haue, of such pensions as the king hath giuen them.

They had graunted them at *Bruges* the first day of August, in the yeere one thousand fiue hundred eighty and eight, a generall *Liberanca*, to receyue three moneths pay a peece of their pensions. Since that time they haue followed the Duke from Towne to Towne, making vnto him sundrie requestes for the payment thereof: but if they haue vntill this present day obtayned the same, then let mee not be credited in any part of the rest which I shall heere entreate of. In deede some small time past, *Cosimo* beeing wearyed

with

with their importunities and lamẽtations, addreſſed thẽ to *Baptiſta Spinola* a baker dwelling at *Antwerp* giuing them his Letter, and ſending the ſame by one *H. Haſtwood*, requeſting him to relieue thoſe diſtreſſed Engliſh Gentlemen, and to buy their *Liberanca*, which he doubted not but they would ſell good cheap, greatly to his profit: the whole ſumme was ten thouſand crowns, which *Coſimo* promiſed him ſhould be allowed, and paid in the reckoning he had with the king. *Haſlewood* in the name of the reſt, offered him the ſayd ſumme for ſixe hundred. But *Spinola* vtterly refuſed the ſame, ſaying, he wold not take it for two hundred, and withall hee deſired that hee might not meddle anie more with the king, wiſhing that he had not medled with him ſo much. So that they were fain to returne pennileſſe, and doo at this inſtant liue in ſo poore and pitifull ſort, that truly my hart grieueth to ſee it, inſomuch that I knew a Gentleman that ſolde his part there, being foure and twentie pounds, for three pounds. But perchance you will ſaie, he giueth great penſions, and entertaineth manie of our Nation: it is true in deede, in ſhewe hee doth ſo, and therewith doth bleare the worldes eyes wyth a ſhew of great liberalitie. But his payment and vſage conſidered, a (God is my iudge and witneſſe) I ſpeake vnfainedly, I account it a farre happier eſtate to bee a doore-keeper in that your bleſſed ſoile, than to be heere penſioner to the king of *Spaine*. I leaue the iudgement of the truth thereof, to thoſe that haue tryed it: you haue many among ſt you, confer with them

and

and examine them vppon their consciences as for my part, in good faith I cannot imagin cause why he entertaineth vs, vnles it be to vse vs as stales, to allure others, considering the hatred that he & his beare vs, and so vnder the dissembled colour of a false affection, to ouerthrow vs all at the last.

Thus much I dare boldly say, because through the conference I haue had with them, I doe know assuredly, that euen those of our nation which doe most serue his turne, howsoeuer in outward apparance they seem for some particular causes to magnifie and extoll his liberalitie, yet in their owne secret conceits they do imagin & know nothing in the world to be more reprochfull, base, and contemptible, than to be an Entertaindo in the king of Spaines seruice. As for example: you shall easilie see what account is made of them. At such time as preparation was made at *Brussels* for the voyage of Englande, when they all expected to bee made knights, coronels, captaines, and conducters of the armie, and to be filled with crownes, they were so farre from those matters with which they flattered themselues, that in stead of being honored and aduaunced, they were the onelie reiected and contemned people that followed the Court, all men beeing releeued with some moneths paie (they onely excepted) and which is more, whereas they mooued the Duke sundry times to know his pleasure, how hee would dispose of them in this iourney, telling him besides, that vpon the wel viage of them depended much matter of importaunce, as

the alluring & drawing to them other gentlemen of their kinsmen and friends, and vpon hope of the like good vsage, honour, and aduancement, woulde bee able to doe great seruice vpon their landing: where contrariwise, in seeing them come ouer so poore in shew, without credit, mony, or armes, lyke lackeis, for so were the words of their request, it would be a cause to terrifie them from vndertaking any such course. They were by the Duke scornefully and with derision reiected, neyther did hee vouchsafe to giue them any other answere, than onely that hee would thinke vpon it. But on the night that they thought to embarke, he departed, leauing them all behind, not thinking them any way woorthy to be called vpon, or to be taken with him. VVherupon the lord *Westmerland* and *Poges*, and sundry others, layd their heads together, and made their complaint to the duke of *Parma*, by whom they were as basely and scornfully handled as by the other, insomuch as a great Spaniard standing by, asked them whether they thought the king of Spaine not puisant enough to winne England, without them and their friends: Vpon which answere the Lord *Poges*, that verily thought hee shoulde haue beene made one of the priuy Councell, and now finding himselfe to bee had in so small account, conceiued such an inward griefe, that for that time forward hee neuer ioyed till his dying day. Sir *William Standley* also tooke it in such heauy and disdainefull sorte, that he was not called to the counsell of warres, wher-

as hee presumed, and so gate out, that no man in the army knewe more, or was better able in this voiage than himself, that he sequestred himselfe frō the Country, and came malecontent, and hired an house in *Antwerpe*, where hee liued a most melancholy lyfe foure or fiue monethes, and oftentimes would burst out into such impassionate speeches, that the world verily imagined he wold haue professed himselfe into a cloyster.

Besides, the loue the Spaniarde beareth vs, appeareth by the speeches hee dayly vseth in publike assemblyes concerning vs. Once seeing certayne English-men passe by, as they stoode a great many of them in a ring, (as they vse) together vppon the bridge in *Antwerpe*, they sayde, They wondered what the king made with such vermin in his country, one of them swearing a great oath, that lookes how many English-men there were in the Lowe countries, there were so many spies and traitours. Another sayd, it were an almes deede to put them all in sackes, and throw them into the riuer. I could recite a thousand more such speeches, but that they are not worth the remembring. They are so ielous and suspitious of vs, that if any thing proue vntowardly in their seruice, they think it straight to be done by our especiall meanes and intelligence. As vpon the taking of *Axhil* by that braue & worthie souldier Sir *Philip Sidney*, of worthie memorie, *Mandragon* presently imprisoned *Poges* within the Castle, tooke away all things whatsoeuer that hee had worth ane thing, and the rest

he cauſed his men to ryſle and ſheale, ſaying openly that we all are traitors and ſpies. To confirme the confidence they haue in vs, tell mee what companies of Engliſh they haue truſted within theſe ten yeares in gariſon? I am ſure you cannot name one. And whereas ſundry Gentlemen amongſt vs haue inſtantly ſued to haue theyr penſiõs granted them in the caſtle of *Antwerpe* or *Gaunt*, becauſe the payment is there ſomewhat better, no one hath hitherto been able to attayne the fame: ſo vile & baſe is the reckoning they make of vs. I could alledge vnto you many other examples, of ſundry diſgraces offered vnto our nation, wherby we myght (if we liſt) eaſily diſcouer the hatred they beare vs, the ſuſpition they haue of vs, and the danger wherein we ſtand, to haue one day our throates cut. But this I hope, which I haue already rehearſed, ſhall ſuffice fully to allure and perſuade you, that here is no aduancement, wealth, or reputation to be gotten, but pouerty, peril, iealouſie, and diſgrace.

Now let vs ſee, touching the point of conſcience, and repoſe in religion, if the fame be to be found here, ſuch as you expect. In matter of religion, I wil not take it vpon me to diſpute, becauſe it were to digreſſe from my purpoſe, and beſides, I neuer ſtudyed diuinity: only making compariſon betweene the comfortable freedome of the one, and the diſpayring flauery of the other: laying on the one ſide Indulgences, pilgrimages, forged relikes, fabulous deuiſes, and auricular confeſsions: on the other ſide, the merites and paſsion of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt,

Christ, the Inuocation of his holy Name, and true penitence proceeding from a contrite heart: on the one side mens traditions, and on the other side, the syncere and holy word of our sauiour. I thinke the choyse is not hard to make for him whose heart is not hindered wyth obstinacy and selfe-will opinion. But leauing this, and allowing your religion to be good, lets come to the contentment which you might here receyue in free vsage of the same, together with the cõseruatiõ of such other your country men which here do professe the same religion. First, I thynke you are not ignorant of the broiles, diuisions, seditions, and factions, which are here among them: some they cal Patriots, some Iesuites, some ouer negligent & careless in religion, other some ouer pure and hypocriticall, some dunces state men: but the notablest of all these factions, is that, betweene our Cardinall Doctour *Allen*, and D. *Lewes* bishop of *Cusane*: on these two parties are all dependant: and so must you be also, if you were here, or otherwise cleauing to neyther of them, you shoulde bee counted enemy to them both, and so within short space might put vp your pipes, for ye should be sure to be put vp for a spie, or at least so to be crossed in all your matters & pretences, that you would quickly, I warant you, be weary of such entertaynment. On the other side, embracing the one, what enuy, what defamation, what slaunder should you not be subiect vnto? On the other side, what oathes and solemne depositions must you make? Finally, you would thinke there were no

greater purgatory than to liue among these dissen-
tions, iarres, and tumults. These two factions I tell you of, haue sought to ouerthrowe one anothers credite in the chiefest courts in Christendome, tossing to and fro such foule and filthie defama-tions, that all men almost cryed out agaynst them both. On the other side of the Cardinall, are de-pendant *Hugh Owen*, with the Iesuites & their re-tinue of fauorites. On the other side the Bishop of *Dunglane* a Scottish-man, the Lord *Paget* whi-lest he liued, *Charles Paget*, *Thomas Morgan*, the two *Throgmortons* *Ra. Liggins*, *&c.* The beginning heereof arose about the Cardinalshippe, to which both *Allen* and *Lewes* were competitours: each one for the obtayning thereof applyed his friendes to the vttermost, but at length through the instant pursuite of the Iesuites, and of theyr faction, were for euer after mortally hated, all those that had bin wales or fautours to Doctor *Lewes*, but chiefly and among the rest *Thomas Throgmorton*, who had bin one of the earnestest in that pursuite. The Iesuites since haue had many a plucke at him, but *Morgan* beeing wise, strengthened himselfe alwayes wyth such friendes, that they coulde neuer doe him any hurt, but rather secretly hee galled them: the which they seeing, and perceyuing that that was not the way to bee reuenged of him, they tooke another course, and that was this: One euening as hee came from the Church, they caused him to bee assaulted by a young man called *Gage*, who giuing him on the sodayne a grieuous blowe vppon the face,

face, presently made haste away, & so for that time escaped, but was afterwardes by my Lorde *Pagets* meanes and earnest pursuite apprehended. The Iesuites and their part seemed at the first to deny that they had beene the causers of that fact, but the sequele of their proceedings made it most apparant vnto the whole world. For when *Morgan*, my Lord *Paget*, and diuerse of their parte, laboured very instantly and with often petitions vnto the Duke, to haue the rigour and seuerity of iustice to proceede against him, of whome they had receyued this great iniurie, they, to stoppe theyr mouthes, and to preuent the mischiefe that might insue, found no better meanes than to accuse *Morgan* of treason, laying to his charge sundry points of treachery touching the Queene of *Scotland*. Besides, they accused him to haue bene a setter on of *Gifford* & his assistances, in such practises as he had vndertaken by sir *Frances Walsinghams* warrant, & to that end sent *Chryton*, the Scottish Iesuite, to *Paris*, to take *Gyffords* examination. And withall, they made some of their adherents to take their oth before their Auditout generall, that in their conscience they thought *Morgan* to be a traitour and a spie: vnto the taking of which oath also, they laboured earnestly with sundry others, which (they not hauing their consciences so saleable as some of them) had refused and vtterly denyed to doe; yet in the meane time while these thinges were in hand, with their forged accusations they wrought so, that *Morgan* was apprehended, and clapped

vp

vp in close prison, whereas yet he remaineth. But this broile hath opened such foule matters, both of the one side and of the other, that the whole Nation is therewith infamed, and held to be traitors & spies: and in good faith, in my iudgment, not vnworthily.

Good sir, take it not in ill part, that I write thus boldly vnto you: for as neere as I can, my endeuor is to let you know, what hell, torment and vexation it is to liue heere, among this vnquiet, troublesome & traiterous crew. I meane not this by them all, for there are among them some well disposed and honest gentlemen, whom they vse in such malitious and wicked sort, that they make them in a manner wearie of their lyues. But the prettest of all is, to see how smoothly they handle the matter with you in England, and how they do abuse your simplicitie. They make you and other Catholykes of England beleeue, that what practises and drifts so euer they take in hand, are all for the zeale of religion and aduancement of the Catholike cause: & the seely souls thinke all they say is Gospell, whereas (God wot) religion is the least matter of an hundred they thinke vpon. The only point they shoot at, being lost Companies at home, is to make themselues great heere, and to make you hazarde your liues, reputation and credit: and therefore they are alwais breeding of practises and conspiracies both within and without the realme, caring not what successe they take: if they proue wel, then they wil haue the praise, merite, honor and reward thereof:

if

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if otherwiſe, then they ſay their good will muſt be accepted, and therewith they thinke to winne the reputation to be counted great ſtate-men, and contriuers of waighty matters: not caring in the mean time, of the ſeueritye of them by whome they worke, as appeareth by the example and fall of many braue Gentlemen of England, whome they by theyr trecherous practiſes haue brought to ruine and deſtruction. They very well knew, that when they firſt began to ſet abroach the matter of *Babington* and his diſloyall confederates, that the effectation therof was altogether vnpoſsible, as *Mendoza* the Spaniſh embaſſador told *Ballard* the prieſt, their inſtrument in contriuing the ſame, when hee was firſt brought vnto him in *Paris* by *C. Paget*, to deſire him with al ſpeed to informe the Kings his maſter of their intention, & withall, that at a day appointed they might haue ſome force and aſsiſtaunce of men ready to correſpond with them: but that was all one, ſo they might bee counted men of greate reach, and dealers in ſuch high ſtate matters, they ſpared not to proceede in inchanting thoſe poore vnexperienced young Gentlemen, in ſuch ſorte, as to the whole world is manifeſt, and need not to be recited. Let all Gentlemen in England, eſpeciallye papiſts, take heed and beware of their miſchieuous broode of caterpillers, for they ſpeake ſo deuoutly, looke ſo ſmoothly, and write with ſuch counterfeited grauity and holines, that it is hard for any man to eſchue their deadly baits, vnleſſe he thoroughly do firſt know their trechery, vnder which they do

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colour and ſhroude them. VVhat hath brought maſter *Shellie* into theſe his extreame troubles and perill of life, if her gracious Maieſtie of her great clemency & merciful diſpoſition had not regarded him wyth the eyes of pitty? Likewiſe what hath brought the late erle of *Northumberland* into trouble and calamity, and finally to that deſperate and miſerable end, but only theſe outlandiſh practiſes, & their conference with counterfet *Mopo*, I meane *C. Paget*, who was ſent out of France by this ſeditious troupe, to vndermine and ouerthrowe both the one and the other? VVhat beſides hath beene the cauſe of bringing ſo many other Gentlemen to the loſſe of their liues and liuings, that liued before in eaſe, repoſe, and ſecurity of conſcience: and which is more, were it not that that plot cõtriued the death of the Queene of *Scotland*, by ſetting her in continuall practiſe one vpon an other, againſt the ſacred perſon and royal ſtate of our moſt gratious ſoueraigne Queene, ſo that of violent neceſsity, her Maieſty though vnwilling and with great griefe, at the generall and inſtant petition of al her Graces moſt louing and faithfull ſubiects, whoſe onely weale and comfort dependeth vppon her long lyfe and proſperity, to ſatisfie them, and to preſerue the ſtate of her noble & floriſhing realme in quiet, was conſtrained by cutting off that rankled and infected part, to yeelde eaſe, remedy and comfort to the reſt of the whole body. I ſay not this onely of my ſelfe, though I and all the world elſe doe knowe it to be very true: but theſe their

dealings

dealings haue made them hatefull and deteſtable euen to thoſe of their own religion. For that a freſh Ieſuite tearmeth them all in generall in a Booke, which hee hath written touching the Queene of Scotlandes death, a viperous, miſchieuous, and faithleſſe kinde of people, trecherous to thoſe they deale withall, diſdainfull, arrogant, ambitious, and worthy to be extermined out of the vtmoſt bouds of the worlde. Beſides many other ſuch goodly epethites, with which hee beautifies them in their colours, his whole booke being nothing elſe but railing againſt Engliſh papiſtes, wiſhing all princes, noble men and Gentlemen whatſoeuer, to beware and take heed of them: and that in ſuch earneſt, vehement, and inuectiue manner, that it is not poſsible to be more.

But ſome man perchance may demaund of me what their meaning heerein may bee, or what credite, commoditie or gaine might haue allured them to enter into theſe before ſayd, ſo wicked and deteſtable imaginations.

For aunſweare heereunto: firſt I tolde you, that ſo they might bee accounted and reputed for greate ſtate-men, high ſpirited, and greate of action, to procure that reputation and eſtimation they care not whoſe eſtate they indaunger. But beſides all this which wee haue alreadie ſpoken of, they haue alſo further meaninges and driftes, as thoſe that doe looke deepelyeſt and diligenteſt into theyr actions, doe verilye imagine, and haue bene by ſundrie their proceedinges euidently

diſcouered, amongeſt which the chiefeſt is, that as they are of all people liuing the moſt ambitious, ſo ſeeing this beggarly ſeruice doeth not fit their humour, they doe feed themſelues with an imagination of the time to come, I meane a Spaniſh or popiſh world in this our countrie, at which time then they doubt not, the long time of their exile, ſufferance, and lacke of liuing conſidered (for ſo is theyr phraſe and manner of ſpeech) to become mightie and great men, and to haue the principal rule, ſway dignity, and great authoritie in our countrie. Marrie againe on the other ſide, conſidering that they are but baſe companions of births and liuing, and that there are in England many gentlemen of great qualitie and houſes of the ſame religion, that wold diſdaine to haue ſuch mates preferred before thē in race, quality or degree: they haue gon (by all means poſsible they can) about by practiſe or colourable deuiſes to roote them out, ſo ſeruing their turnes two waies: the one to winne reputation of men of ſeruice: the other, to rid themſelues of other competitours. But (God be thanked) the chiefeſt harme their conſpiracies haue done hitherto, hath ben to themſelues, and they confounded in their own deuiſes. And yet for all this, ſo many tragicall endes of their ſo many traiterous proceedinges, are they not moued with any ſparke of repentaunce. Neyther hath the ruine of ſo many of you their countrie-men wrought and contriued by their practiſe, allurement and perſwaſion, bred in them anie feeling of remorſe of conſcience, but rather are therby

animated

animated & incouraged to set new deuises abroch, with meaning in deed by sowing seditions among you, & by opposing you against the state, to make you the onely instruments of the others ruine, and so to make the way open to the Spanish tyrant, to which end there is no weeke but they receyue spies and spials from you. Insomuch that (I speake vpon good assuraunce) there are at this instant among you aboue three hundred seditious beggerlye priests, sent ouer by them to no other purpose. A little before the comming of the Spanish fleet, they sent foure priests, and two Iesuites, in disguised apparell, throughly instructed to sound the meaning of such Gentlemen, as they thought to be of theyr religion, and to incline their minds to the Spanish cause, encoutaging them to take Armes against her MAIESTY, to which end they printed in English many hundred of bookes in *Antwerpe*, barrelling them vp vntill such time as the Army should haue bene landed, and then their meaning was to haue dispersed them, full of the most blasphemous speeches and proud traiterous menaces, as well agaynst her Maiestie, as against you all in generall, as neuer (I thinke) the like was heard of.

Besides, they haue obtained of the Pope, & of the king, that as many as had their voices in the parliament house, at such time as the Queene of *Scotland* was adiudged to die, of what degree so euer they were, should be depriued not onely of theyr liues and liuings, but that their posterity also shuld be for euer dis-inherited and disanulled. The like

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alſo they threatned in their bookes to all ſuch, as well noble men as others, that ſhould after the landing of the Spaniards armie, perſiſt in armes againſt the ſame. But all this by the goodnes of God hath but ſerued to diſcouer their wicked intentions, and to animate al true Chriſtian Engliſhmen, to perſiſt with the greater loue, vnitie and courage in their obedience to her Maieſtie.

But returning againe my ſpeeches to you, (O vnnaturall Engliſh-men) to thoſe whō you ſhould obey trecherous and vnfaithfull, and of thoſe that you doe obey contemned and made ſlaues! how can you indure to thirſt after the deſtruction of ſo ſweete a countrie, in which you receiued your being, & that gaue you nuriture being yong? VVhat religion muſt that bee, that animateth you to ſeeke ſubuerſion of ſo benigne a princeſſe and of ſo glorious an eſtate? The olde worthie Romans thought it the moſt heroycall thing that might bee, to vowe themſelues ſometimes to death for their countrie, and euen to ſpend their liues in defence of their altars, temples and monumentes of their Elders: and you ſeeke to ſee your Countrie bathing in the bloud of your parents, kindred, and friendes, to ſee your cities, temples, and auncient monuments flaming in the fire, to ſee your virgins defloured, and further, to bring the nobleſt nations to perpetuall ſlauerie and ſeruitude, yea, and that of the moſt baſe, wicked, proude and cruelleſt nation that liueth, a nation not yet fully an hundred yeeres ſince wholie they receiued Chriſtianitie,

and

and as yet are in their heartes a great number of them, Pagans and Moores, from profeſsion of which, they are onely held by the ſeuere bridle of the ſanguinary and moſt cruell heathen Inquiſition.

But that Paganiſme of theirs, which in theyr profeſsion they dare not ſhew, they do in their tyranny, blaſphemy, ſodomy, cruelty, murther, adultery, and other abominations ſufficiently diſcouer. If the *Numantines Saguntines*, and *Neſſatiagis* burned their townes, ſlew their wiues and children, and families themſelues, rather than they would receyue the yoke of worthy and vertuous Nations that inuaded them. VVhat ſhould wee then do, whome our vertuous aunceſtours haue left honoured with the innumerable trophies of many victories, rather than to indure the inſolent, wicked, and tyrannous gouernment of that Nation, whome all Europe hath in horrour, leauing to our poſterity after vs a perpetuall ſeruitude and bondage, and an euerlaſting memory of cowardiſe.

But leauing this vntill a fitter time, I hope this that is alreadye ſayde ſhall bee ſufficient to make you clearely and plainely vnderſtand, that there is not to bee obtayned the ſweetneſſe, liberty, and tranquility of conſcience which you expect and looke for, but rather, turmoyle and griefe of minde, wyth a perpetuall grudging and remorſe of conſcience, ſcandalized wyth infinite and innumerable examples of euill life, impietie,

ſodomy,

ſodomye, blaſphemye, defamation, and periurie. On the other ſide, towardes her Maieſtye and the ſtate of your country, you ſhall be holde & reputed as a traitor, and of thoſe whom you ſhal here ſerue, no better, who make no further reckning of any of vs, than as of baſe people, fugitiues out of our cuntry for debt, theeuery, or ſome other hainous crime or other, thinking it a matter vnpoſsible (how ſoeuer we diſguiſe the ſame vnder pretext of religion) that any man beeing in his country of honeſt calling or meanes to liue, ſhould be ſo ſenſeleſſe as to exchange the ſame for a condition ſo baſe, beggerly, and infamous, as that which wee doe heere indure: And ſo did a Spaniſh Captaine in playne tearms ſignifie to ſir *William Standley*, as they paſſed in the ordinary boote betweene *Antwerp* and *Bruſſels*.

But now to the third point of my Diſcourſe, cõcerning the miſlike which ſundry of you haue of her Maieſties gouernement, and the ſtate of your countrie at this preſent, to ſeeke to tranſporte your ſelues hether as into a hauen of bliſſe & ſecurity. I will by comparing the one with the other, as neere as I cã, let you ſee the difference between the both, and ſo conſequently, your errour, as neere as I can geſſe, & by report of ſundry cõming thence informed, this your diſliking proceedeth of two points: The one, that your lawes are too rigorouſly & ſeuerely executed againſt ſuch as profeſſe the catholike religion: The other, that the aduerſarie hath buzzed a feare into your heades, making you be-

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leeue that the fortes of your ſtate are too feeble to reſiſt ſo mightye and puiſant an enemye as the Spaniſh king, whoſe mighty treaſures, many dominions, & armies of men they magnifie to the skies, and therefore perchaunce you couet to ioyne betimes, with the partie which you doe thinke moſt aduantagious for your future ſecurity & aduancement.

Firſt, touching the perſecutions of Catholikes, which our traytours here ſo much exclaime vpon, filling whole volumes therewith, & aggreuating the ſame in tearmes moſt bitter and lamentable to foraine Nations. Let vs ſee what reaſon they haue. I would fayne demande one queſtion, If euer they did reade, heare, or knowe of anye one King or Queene, that did with greater mildeneſſe of lenity tollerate or ſuffer within his or her dominion aſe& of religion oppoſite to the lawes by him or her eſtablyſhed, eſpeciallye the ſame hauing ſundrye times rebelliouſly attempted againſt their crowne, ſtate, and dignity.

Let them looke (if there be men of iudgement) into the ages paſſed, euen amongſt the Heathen, and into the preſent time among all the Princes of Europe, and if there bee not any to be founde that hath dealt with the like lenity as her Maieſty hath done, why then doe they ſo falſely ſlaunder her? Doe they not know that ſhee is the ſacred and annointed Queene appoynted by God to gouerne them? If they doe, why doe they not then with all penitencye and humility, loue, honor, and obey

her, and praying to God to conuert her (ſeeing ſuch is their deſire) and not by traiterous miſchiefe ſeek to murther and depriue her. They learned not that of the ancient Chriſtians in the primitiue church. But they will ſay, ſhe hath executed many ſeminary prieſts: I confeſſe ſhe hath indeede by cutting them off preſerued her realme from many diſeaſes that rankled within the ſame. But yet hath ſhee proceeded therein in ſo gracious and mercifull a ſort, that ſhee hath witneſſed ſufficiently vnto the worlde, howe loath ſhee is to come vnto bloud, ſo long as there is any other remedy in the worlde to bee vſed. For her Maieſty knoweth, her counceil knoweth, you and I, and the whole world knoweth, that the comming of theſe Seminaries, prieſts, and Ieſuites, to reconcile men, as they tearme it, to the obedience of the Roman Church, is directly and obſtinately to alienate and diuert theyr myndes from her Maieſty, and to encline them to bee ready to aſsiſt any enemy eyther within or without the realme, that ſhall colour his cauſe vnder the pretext of religion. Her Maieſty, I ſay, and Councell, and all good ſubiects knowing this, and foreſeeing the danger that might thereof inſue, forbade by Acte of Parliament theſe ſeminaries to enter into her realme, or to vſe or exerciſe anye ſuch ſeditious doctrine, limiting therwithal a time to ſuch as were within the realme, to depart out of the ſame. But this ſufficed not, theſe good fellowes thinke no lawes good or to be obeyed, but ſuch as they make themſelues.

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In they came as fast as before, greate numbers of them were taken & impriſoned, whom though her Maieſtie deſeruedly and with great iuſtice, (eſpecially the daylye miſcheſe ſtirred vp within the Realme by their ſeditious practiſes conſidered) might haue executed as traitours and rebelles, yet the greatneſſe of her princely clemencie and compaſsion was ſo loth to come vnto bloud, that ſhee cauſed them all once more to be pardoned, and to bee put out of the Realme, but with expreſſe commaundement neuer to returne in like ſort: in dooing otherwiſe they ſhould bee ſure to finde no fauour. All this would not ſerue their turnes, but in diſpight of her Maieſtie and contempt of her lawes, ſundrie of them returned, of which ſome of them being taken, haue receiued the hire of theyr graceleſſe diſobedience and rebellous attempt.

But that her Maieſtie ſeeketh not bloud, as they moſt falſely gaue out, appeareth by her clemencie vſed to ſundrie of them, taken by her ſouldiers in the Low Countries, who though they were of ſir *William Standley* his crewe and adherents, her moſt profeſſed enemies, yet ſeeing they were not taken within England, ſhee graciouſly pardoned them, and cauſed to be ſet at libertie, in giuing ſome litle recompence to thoſe ſouldiers that had taken them priſoners, VVhere is then her rigor you ſpeake of? I hope the king of Spaine keepeth another maner of rule in his Countries, ouer all *Spaine*, *Portugall*, *Lombardie*, *Naples*, & *Cicilia*, whoſoeuer ſpeaketh a word, or makes the leſt ſigh in the world to diſlike

his religion there eſtabliſhed, or any one poynt or ceremonie thereof, his cruell miniſters the Inquiſitours, cauſe without remiſsion to be burnt aliue: as for example, There was this laſt yeere a Citizen in *Antwerpe*, one *Gyles Rat* a ſhoomaker, that going into *Spaine* about ſome buſines, was apprehended for ſmiling at the Image of our Lady, brought before the Inquiſitours, and by them preſentlye condemned to fire, and with him an Engliſh-man for the lyke cauſe: whoſe name the Gentleman that ſawe them burned knewe not: but hee tolde mee that at the time of their execution, there mounted on a ſcaffolde thereby two Ieſuites, forbidding the people vpon paine of Excommunication to praie for them, ſaying that they had deliuered them both ouer in bodie and ſoule to the deuill, as thoſe that died obſtinate and wilfull heretikes. I would faine knowe how hee would doe with Miniſters, if hee ſhoulde catch them in *Spaine*, as the Queene hath done prieſts in England. As for his Lowe Countries, I neuer heard but of two taken, and that was at the ſiege of *Dermond*, and they were both put in to ſackes by the Spaniards, and throwne into the riuer.

This is indeede Tyrannie, and not that which her Maieſtie doth, who is alwaies readie to receiue into grace and fauour thoſe of whome ſhee hath any hope that they will become good ſubiects, and hath (as I haue heard) offered euen at the houre of their death her princely mercy and fauour to ſome of them, if they woulde haue promiſed to become

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good subiects.

Oh how different from this is their proceeding heere which you see so highly commended! But it is the nature of men, especially of those, whose iudgements are not setled as they shoulde bee, alwaies to mislike and loath those thinges to which they are accustomed, thinking other to them vnknown far better. If you did but once see the tyranous vsage & explication what is vsed in matter of religiõ to the poore people vnder the Spanish gouernment in this Countrie, I doubt not but you would be of another opinion, especially the woful slauerie considered in which the cleargie, or rather the rauening multitude of Iesuites, Friers, Monks and priests doe keepe their minde subiected. It is not sufficient that they hold their mindes in a perpetuall despaire, pronouncing vppon euerie friuolous point damnation vnto them: but withal, they compell them perforce to offerings, to buying of pardons and indulgences, to giue them money towardes the reparation of their Churches, pictures, images, and waxe candles, alwaies hauing one deuice or other in hand to robbe them, and to drawe from them their substance: for whosoeuer yeeldeth not to euery of these demaunds, is presently an heretike.

The best houses in the Towne they take violently from the true owners, and appropriate vnto themselues, saying it is meete that God should first be serued before man. There is no one daie but the poore citizens are punished and pestered with one

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or other of their orders of Friers, Monkes, Mendicants, Capuchines, Candles, and monie towardes the reparation of their Churches, and which they muſt not be denied, vnleſſe you will bee preſently accuſed for an heretike.

But the beſt is, to ſee how buſie and diligent they are when they heare of a wealthie man that lyeth ſick, and is in danger of death. This is their chiefeſt harueſt and moſt *optima præda*: then they commend vnto him the pouertie of their cloiſter, and the merite that hee ſhould gaine, as beeing for euer to bee remembred in their maſſes, as one of theyr benefactors: the Ieſuits and Cordelleres are at this preſent in proceſſe of Spaine about this matter of viſitation of ſicke men, *in articulo mortis*. The Ieſuites ſaie that it appertaines vnto them, becauſe theyr profeſsion is actiue, & alwaies ſtirring among the flocke, and to doe good in the worlde abroade, whereas that of the Cordelleres is contemplatiue, and ſo by conſequence, moſt decent that they ſhoulde containe themſelues within theyr cloyſters.

The Cordelleres on the other ſide replye, that theyr profeſsion is meekeneſſe, innocencie, and pouertie, and to doe good vnto all men. As for the Ieſuites, that they are proude, ambitious, aſpiring, medlers in matters of ſtate, men of great riches, and couetous of more, and therefore by no meanes to bee admitted to ſuch as lye at the article of death. The matter hath beene much argued of, and greatly debated in Spaine, and beſides, the Ieſuites haue openly

openly inueighed againſt them in the publike ſchooles of *Louaine*: yet notwithſtanding how euer the cry goeth againſt them, they holde theyr owne. But this by the way, ſeeing it comes ſo wel to our purpoſe, I cannot chuſe but tell you a prety ieaſt which happened this laſt Summer in theſe partes.

A Marchant of *Antwerpe*, whoſe name was *Hamiel*, being ſicke of a conſumption or feauer ethike, the Ieſuites knowing him to bee a man of great poſſeſſions, and without children, preſently repayred vnto him vnder colour of ſpirituall conſolation, laying before him the vanitie of this lyfe and the certainty of the worlde to come: wyth ſundry other perſwaſions, as of all men lyuing they haue their tongues moſt at will: withall, commending vnto him their order, as of all other the moſt meritorious, perfect, and acceptable to God, and to which our holye father the Pope and his predeceſſors haue granted more indulgences than to any other order whatſoeuer: they brought the poore man, being of himſelfe ſimple, into their ſociety, thinking that there was no other way to bee ſaued, and withall before hand infeoffed their college with his land, which was two hūdred pound a yeere, giuing them beſides, much goods and riche moueables, and when he had ſo done, died within three moneths after the ſame: his next heires, by counſell of their friends, put the Ieſuites in ſuite, agaynſt which, though they oppoſed themſelues with all vehemencie, yet to theyr great ſhame and

reprehenſion

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reprehenſion, ſentence was giuen agaynſt them. Notwithſtanding they would not giue ouer, but by the meanes, aid, and ſupport of preſident *Pameley*, who is one of theyr beſt children, they appealled from thence to the councell of *Bruſſels*, getting the cauſe after ſentence giuen to bee remooued, a thing vnuſuall or ſcarcely euer heard off before, as yet there the proceſſe hangeth, by hooke or by crooke it is thought they will haue it in the ende. Another time a riche and wealthy Merchaunt of *Antwerp*, but one in that point whoſe deuotion & ſcrupulocity ouer-went his wiſdome, comming to them in confeſsion, and telling them of ſome vniuſt gaine with which he felt his conſcience touched, they ſuddenly with ſundry tetrifyng ſpeeches, tolde him that hee was in the ſtate of damnation, out of which he could not bee delyuered, vntyll ſuch time as hee had made reſtitution as well of that confeſſed, as of all other mony and goods that hee had by vſury vnlawfully gotten, laying before him, *Quod none dimittitur peccatum niſi reſtituatur oblatum:* with ſundry other ſuch ſentēces, of which they had ſtore: in fine, they put the poore man into ſuch feare of conſcience, that he yelded to make reſtitution, if ſo the ſame might bee done without his vndoing, dyſcredite, or ſhame. VVhereupon to comfort him agayne, but in deede fearing leaſt that if they dealt too rigorouſly with him they ſhould get nothing, they tolde him, that if in ſteade of all ſuch intereſt and iniuryes, with which hee felt his conſcience burdened, hee would onely be content

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to deliuer vnto them some such summe of monie, as without his vndooing, he thought conueniently he might spare, they woulde take it vppon their soules to see the said summe imploied vpon good, vertuous, and charitable vses, to the greater benefite and merite of his soule, and as a thing more acceptable to God, and lesse scandelous to the world than if he should make restitution to whome it appertained, and that were by that his vsurie interessed. VVhereupon the Marchant beeing well satisfied in conscience, gaue them the monie, and they him their absolntion.

But I will hold you no longer with the recitall of these things, of which if I would entreate, their impiety would yeelde me too much matter. My principall meaning and intention onely beeing to let you see, that vnder heauen there is no state so wickedly, impiously, & deuouringly gouerned in matter of religion and conscience, as these here vnder the Spaniard. I thinke the recital of their miseries would rather breede in you admiration than beleefe, so far doth the same exeeede the compasse of al their tyrannies that euer were vsed, there being no calamity in the world of which they haue not tasted of. Their noblemen & rulers, in whose vertue and courage consisted their chiefest refuge in times past, when they were wronged & tyrannixed, haue beene murdered, strangled, poisoned, and slayne by the bloudy ministers of their cruell king: they are taxed in great summes, and numbers of men sent violently into France & forrein wars,

and the relikes of their nobility forced to go with thē in perſon, to their apparant ſlaughter, leauing in the meane time their countries in pray to the enemy, their villages flaming in fire,& their towns battered about their eares wyth the canon, their priuiledges are by wrong and tyranny taken from them, their cities that ſometimes ſtriued with oppulency and glorie with the goodlieſt and greateſt of the world,are gouerned by baſe and barbarous Spaniardes, brideled with their garriſons and caſtels,and forraged & ſpoyled by them,at ſuch time as their payment faileth.No face of iuſtice in their common-wealth,but the ſame is pliable to the wil of ſuch ſtrangers as are gouernors of their towns, & captains of their caſtles, their goodly hauens, harboring ſometimes with innumerable ſhips laden with marchandiſe from all parts of the world, are now frequented euen of the fiſher-boates, their trafficke ceaſed, and their townes almoſt deſarte: in the moſt of which, of tenne houſes together, there are ſcarſe three inhabited, their villages abroade burned and ouergrowen with buſhes,their goodly meddowes and fruitfull paſtures drowned many miles wide and long, by letting in of ſluces, and cutting downe ditches. The manſion houſes and caſtels of their Nobilitie abuſed and throwen downe, the errable ground waſte and vntilled, inſomuch that there a man may haue as much land as hee will, and thankes withall,for the onely manuring thereof. As for the poore labouring people of the country, for the moſt part they

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are all ſtarued and cõſumed with hunger, of which diſeaſe, I my ſelfe haue knowne two thouſand die in one ſummer, ſo that you may ride in ſome places an hundred miles without ſeeing of a man, woman or childe, vnleſſe it bee ſome poore ſillie ſoule that commeth creeping out of the woodes hunger ſtarued, more like confuſitated ghoſtes, than a lyuing chriſtian creature. And yet all theſe in a maner happier, becauſe they are at an ende of theyr miſeries, than ſuch as doe liue within the inhabited places of the countrie, as Cempine and the land of VVaſt: and theſe of all the people in the world I take to be the moſt wretchedſt. Ouer euery village of theſe are appoynted certaine horſmen, to whom they are all to pay monethly contribution, ſome ten pounds, ſome twentie, and ſome thirtie, ſome more and ſome leſſe, I knew one village that paide an hundred poundes euery moneth, called *Turzolt*: but they payde it ſo long, till all the dwellers ranne away, and haue now in a manner left it void of inhabitauntes. Ouer this village and the whole Countrie is appoynted a Commiſſarie called *Sygonio*, for the payment of theyr contributions, of all tyrants liuing the moſt cruelleſt, and of leaſt conſcience. VVho if they faile, and doe not bring in theyr money at the laſt day of the moneth, hee ſendes forth troupes of horſe-men to take the beſt of them priſoners, and withall, to driue home to their quarters or garriſons ſuch ſheepe, oxen, or cattell whatſoeuer as they finde in thoſe villages, which hee cauſeth, if the money followe not

within fiue or ſixe daies at the furtheſt, to be ſold at the drum or Trumpet, and withal, forceth them to pay a great fine, the one halfe of which hee retayneth to himſelfe, and the other to the ſouldiers, for their out-roads and forbearance of the money. But the miſerie of theſe poore people endeth not here, for beſides all this, they are forced many times to lodge ſoldiers in their houſes, as they march along the countrie vpon ſeruice, at which time it is incredible what outrages they receyue, their cattell killed, their corne threſhed out and giuen to horſe, their cheſts broken vp, their goods euē to the verie ſheetes and tikes of beds, ſtollen and carried away by the ſoldiers when they march, themſelues beaten, and their wiues and their daughters abuſed: and in fine, what elſe is to the nature of man grieuous and intollerable, they are conſtrained to indure. Neither is the condition of the poore citizens or towns-men any better, who being forced to receiue garriſon, and to lodge ſouldiers in their houſes, imparting to them the beſt chambers and commodities of the ſame, neuer hearing from them anie other worde, eſpecially if they pleaſe not them in all their exhorbitant demand, than *Perhamengo*, *Lutherano*, *Borchio*, &c. Yet, beſides, they are daylye wearied out with continuall exactions and taxations, as the hundred pennie, the tenth pennie, and once a yeere without faile, the fiftly pennie of all their goods and landes, beſides infinite other pillages and gatherings towardes the making of rampires, bulwarkes, ballaſadowes, counterceрpes, and

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the reparation of their wals, and to giuing of munition, bread, beere, and cheese, to such souldiers as shall passe by their townes distressed of victualles, with infinit such like. I haue knowen (I speak it of my faith) poore people of *Antwerpe* forced to sell their beddes they lie vppon, to satisfie their tyrannous exactions, which if they should not doe, execution of their goods, attachment of their persons, shoulde presently followe. But which is most beyond reason, whereas within the townes the most part of their houses are vacant and vnhired, yet the owners of them are taxed according to the value in which they were wont to bee hired. Insomuch, that in *Antwerpe* & other townes, it is a matter verie vsual for men to disclaime, and quit their owne houses, thereby to be exempted of such paiment as otherwise by reason of thē they are charged with, & that they do iurisdicially before the magistrate, at which time the *Aman* entereth in, and ceaizeth vpon them to the kings vse. Besides, when as sundrie Gentlemen and other the inhabitants of this countrie, hauing certaine annuall rents issuing out and charged vpon the kings demaines in the Dutchie of *Brabant*, at least to the yeerely value of ten thousand poundes, some of the which rents haue bene by themselues bought of the states generall, some left vnto them by their parents and predecessours. The king vniustly and by tyrannie disanulling the said rents, hath, & doth, without forme of iustice, take into his owne hands the said demains, appropriating the vse, commoditie, and reuenue

thereof to the maintenance of the troupes of horse men. But what shall I trouble you any longer with recounting vnto you the assise, impositions, taxes, extortions, pillages, and heauie intollerable burthens laid vpon this afflicted poor people, by their vniust and cruell king. Compare now (I pray you) heerewith, your estate of gouernment at home, and tell me which of them two you thinke to bee most fortunate. Doth her MAIESTY deale in this order with you, whose gouernment you so much mislike? Oh God, how can you be so peruerse, seeing the blessednesse wherein shee maintaines you, as not to acknowledge the same? How gentle are the helpes and subsidies which she exacteth of you, without the vndooing or hinderance of any man of whom they are exacted? And on the other side, how profusely spendeth shee her owne treasure for the maintenance of your wiues, and children, and parents, in repose iustice and securitie. Oh pray to God for her long life and prosperous estate, for in her consisteth the tipe of your felicitie!

But nowe to the other point of your mislike. VVhereas the aduersarie hath beaten into your heads, that the state standes daungerous, as beeing farre too feeble and not sufficient to withstand and resist so mightie and opposite an enemie as is the king of Spaine, terrifying with millions of gold & innumerable nations ouer whome hee commaundeth, I hope by the cleer and euident reasons I shal shew you, to make you vnderstand that the fame of him is farre greater than his force, and that there is

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no prince this day in the world whose estate standeth more tickle and ready to ruine than his, and that there is no cause why we should fear him, but many why he should feare vs. First, that hee is the most mighty and oppulent prince of Europe, I do not deny, if hee had vsed moderation in his greatnesse, and acknowledged the benefites which God hath bestowed vpon him with thankfulnesse. But such is the state whereunto his ambitious aspiring hath at this present brought him, or rather the reuengefull hand of God which hangeth ouer his head for his horrible, tyrannies and odious offences, especially for his wicked pariacide and murther committed vppon the person of his wife, his sonne, and sundry others of his best and truest subiects: that he is in the midst of these his riches, indigent, poore, and indebted, vnable to giue satisfaction to such souldiers as he maintaineth, to which end he is forced to extort vpon his poore subiects, and tyrannize ouer them. Of this his indigency & beggery, wee see euery day experience here before our eyes, his owne natural subiects, the Spaniards, being the best disciplined souldiers he hath, and of whom he maketh greatest account, are forced for want of their paimēt, which is now three yeres behind, to cease his towns and artillary, to contemne his commandements and proclamations, & finally to bend their armes & display their Ensignes vpon the wals against the Duke. To remedie which mutinie, there was post vpon post sent into Spain, yet in seuen moneths there could no monie be found.

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Notwithstanding many & most important detriments, he receyued by occasion of this mutiny, as the losse of *Breda*, the retardaunce of the French succours, the danger of *Numigen, &c.* whereas the whole summe they demaunded was not much aboue fifteen thousand. Besides, do but looke into the maner of his proceedings in these lowe countries with his souldiers, (of which because I haue best experience I will chiefly speake) and you shall find nothing in the world more beggarly and indigent. Neither (as I heare) is it better in his other prouinces, which verily I beleeue, seeing of all others it importeth him to vse them best, as being his eldest, perfectest in discipline, & best experienced troupes, and in fine, those vnto whom he chiefliest reposeth, as the onely vpholders and maintainance of him in his tyranny. Yet was there neuer in the world, I dare vndertake, King nor Prince, how bankerout, or needy soeuer, in whose seruice so many braue souldiers haue died of hunger, or that haue vsed such coosning trickes and shifts to stoppe necessities, and to deceiue his souldies as he hath done.

First, the countrey not being yet fully consumed, wasted, and destroyed, he authorized his soldiers to spoyle and steale the goodes and cattell of the poore pesants, forcing them to raunsome theyr houses from fire, and their persons from murther, by which meanes the souldiers lingered in such sort, that I haue knowen them remaine three yeres together without one months pay. But afterward

Antwerp

Antwerpe, being rendered, & by reaſon of the generall deuaſtation of the countrie, the ſouldiers failing to finde their wonted reliefe and praie, grewe into ſo great and miſerable extremitie, that it was a great matter to finde twentie ſouldiers vnder any Enſigne. The Spaniards mutined vpon the *Staunda*, whome they found meanes to appeaſe wyth ſome few months paiment. The VVallounds mutined in *Laiskine*, *Houlke*, and the land of the *Waſt*, the Almaines went by hundreds begging vp and downe the ſtreets of *Antwerp* bare legged, and bare footed, or in manner naked, the Italians ſtarued in their quarters, and diuers of them being in gariſon in *Breda*, ran thence to *Huiſden*, and to other towns of the enemy. To remedy all which inconueniences, he found meanes to deale with the Italian Bakers of Antwarp for cloth and ſilke, as Northerne kerſies, packe-clothes, baies, refuſe Italian ſilkes, taking vp the ſame vpon exceſsiue intereſt yerely to a certayne ſumme: for receit of which, and deliuery out agayne, hee appoynted a Spaniard, one *Chriſtopher Craſa*, a man of moſt wicked conſcience, to be his treaſurer. Then he began to grant payments to the whole campe, horſe and foote, & vnto ſuch gentlemen and penſioners as were in great extremity, & had bin long ſutors: which they hauing receiued, were forced for want of mony preſently to make ſale thereof for the third of that value in which they receiued it: ſo that a ſouldier hauyng foureteene ſhillings a moneths pay, receiued onely

foure ſhillings and ſixe pence. And he hath his factors and brokers abroad to buy thoſe ſayd clothes and ſilkes again, which he deliuereth preſently out of the firſt price to the next that comes, and ſo ſtill forth deliuering and buying the ſame againe for the third part of the price, inſomuch that with an hundred pounds he maketh ten thouſand poundes in a yeere, and yet ſometimes he maketh them ſtay foure or fiue moneths before he will deliuer them cloth, or any contentment at all. And ſometimes hee neuer troubleth himſelfe with the deliuery of the cloth, but cauſeth their aſsignatiõ to be boght, as now at this inſtant ſir *William Standly* before his departure had obtained a *Liberanca* for two moneths for his regiment, amounting to an hundred and fifty pounds, the payment thereof, hath beene deferred till this preſent, and is now ſolde in *Antwerpe* to one of his factors for three ſcore poundes, and yet hee that ſolde it made a good bargaine. I haue knowen diuers that haue ſolde diuers ſuch *Liberancas* for thirty pounds, and eight and twenty pounds in the hundred. Yet this payment how bad ſoeuer, hath ſomewhat contented the ſouldiers foure or fiue yeeres, rather hauing that than nothing. But now alſo the ſame is dryed vp and come to nothing. Payments haue beene this halfe yeere very ſcarſe, and with much difficulty, for the marchants haue at this inſtant vtterly refuſed to furniſh him with any more wares, both becauſe the ſame wherein he ſtandeth already indebted vnto them

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amounteth to an exceſsiue matter, as alſo he beginneth to wrangle with them, aboute the intereſt of which he craueth moderation: ſeeing beſides before their eies ſo many preſidents of men ruined, vndone, and diſhonored, ſuch as he hath delt withall, of which, what more apparaunt example maye there be than that of *S. Sieures* a Portugal marchant and one of the chiefeſt & beſt reſpected marchãt of *Antwerpe*, both for the wealth and credit which he poſſeſſed, as alſo for the ſecuritie and vprightneſſe which he handled: the Duke of *Parma* reducted of *Antwerpe*, the paſſage of the riuer ſhut vp, and the countries and townes afflicted with great dearth & ſcarcity of corn, at which time rie was at 44. s. ſterling the virendel in *Antwerpe*, & withal being daily cried vpon by the generall of *Vibres* for munition & corn to victual the camp, the old ſtore being cleane conſumed: knewe no other meanes than to deale earneſtly with this *S. Sieures*, and other marchants that had trade with *Hanborough*, *Lubeck*, and the *Eaſterlings*, which countries were repleniſhed with corn, to make ſome aduenture thether for the releefe of the countrie: he amongſt the reſt ſhewed not himſelfe vnwilling to enter into an action ſo charitable and vertuous, if ſo be his pains might be requited, and hee ſufficiently warranted and kept free from ſuch danger as might inſue, either by peril of ſea, taking of the enimies, or loſſe in the ſame: when it came to this end, the duke ſent into *Spaine*, and procured him the kings Letters of aſſurance in

the moſt ample manner poſsible, incouraging him with much thankes & many promiſes to proceed, which hee did with the aduenture of moſt part of his credite and goods, inſomuch, that hee laded three ſhippes of which one was ſcattered by tempeſt, and caſt away vpon the coaſt of Scotlande, the other two came ſafelie home to *Callice*, but at that time ſuch was either the il luck of him, or the good lucke of the countrey, that vpon a new plentie harueſt which they had, corne was abated from fortie foure ſhillinges the Virendell, to ſixe ſhillinges, at which price the Duke, by the kings appointment, bought his prouiſion and munition, vtterlye refuſing that of *Syueres*, ſo that he was faine, whileſt he made his ſute to the king, to keepe the ſame ſo long vpon his owne hands, that it venowed and waxed muſtie, in ſome ſort, that he was faine to throw the greateſt part away, without euer to this day beeing able to receyue of the king one penny of recompence, inſomuch that hee was forced, to the wonderfull griefe, ſhame and confuſion of him, his wife, his children, and friends, hauing before time liued in the greateſt honour and magnificence of any Marchant in the Towne, to breake banquerout, and is at this preſent ſuing to the Duke, and the priuie Councell at *Bruſſels*, for a protection to keepe his bodie from attachment.

Theſe are the rewardes and recompence that this mightie Monarch giueth to thoſe that imploy their indeuours in his ſeruice. Of which if you doe

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deſire to haue better experience, looke but into the office of his treaſurer at *Bruſſels*, and there you ſhall dayly and hourely ſee a token ſufficient of his oppulencie and great magnificencie, there ſhall you finde a miſerable troupe of ſutours, with aſsignations for monie, graunted them by the Duke, ſome of which haue loſt a legge or an arme, eyther thorough age or infirmitie, that hath gotten their Liſence and Paſport to depart into their Countries, ſome pretending one cauſe and ſome another, but no one man able in two yeres following to get one pennie: ſo that there is no yeere but a great number of them die in the purſuite for hunger, yea, and ſome of them euen at his gates. Of my ſaluation I ſpeake it, I haue knowen ſome poore people, that for the ſumme of ſixe poundes haue followed him three yeeres: when eyther hee goeth out, or commeth into his houſe, hee is faine to go thorough gardens and by-wayes, to deceyue his poore ſutors, who otherwiſe aſſayed him, though in vaine, with ſuch ruthfull cryes, that it would pearſe anie mans heart to heare them. VVhich beggerlineſſe, and miſerie, ſundrie worthie ſouldiers of ſtraunge nations ſeeing, eſpecially the baſe and vnworthie vſage which they themſelues receiued, haue abandoned that banquerout ſeruice, as *Iohn Baptiſta de Monte*, and *Camillo de Monte*, two warlike Captaines, but now retained vnder two mightie ſtates, the one Generall to the Duke of Florence, the other to the Venetians, who both lie in waite to cry

quittance with him, and by Gods grace shall one day haue meanes to accomplish their desire. Then sir *Martine Skinke*, of whose iust discontentment and valerous reuenge, you your selues in England are witnes. VVhere are then the moũtains of treasure that the mightie king possesseth? Or if yee say he spareth them to some other end, I pray you tell me to what, & when he will vse them? If not now the danger of the losse of his countrie, fame, & religion, and the greatnesse of the causes hee hath vndertaken and considered. No, no, it is pure want & extreame indigences that forceth him to deale so, though he be rich, yet the greatnesse of the cause he is entered into, doth farre exceede the meanes hee hath to maintaine the same. Vppon the comming downe of this last fleete hee set vp his rest, and lost it, not onely his owne, but that also of his friendes, the pope, the duke of *Sauoy*, the *Geneoises*, &c. which set him into such arrerages, that I thinke hee will not easily come out of them.

As for the treasure of his Indians, where in deede consisteth the verie marrowe, strength, and substance of all his puissance, I confesse the same to bee great, yet his charges considered, making an estimate betweene the one and the other, it can no waie bee able to aunswere and counteruayle them. And yet the same hath beene reasonable well impaired also, since such time as sir *Fraunces Drake* and other of your worthy English captaines by sea, haue begunne to firke him in those. For where-

whereas before hee was wont vſually to waite his Indian fleete home-warde with a Gallyaſſe or two, onely their returne accuſtomed to be euery ſixe moneths, hee is nowe forced to maintayne a great and mighty Nauy of many ſhippes and gallyes, to his ineſtimable and continuall charges. Notwithſtanding all which, his returne is ſeldome aboue once a yeere, and that oftentimes minglingly as may be, and yet they are ſometimes met withall, ſome of them ſcattered, ſome ſunke, and ſome of them alſo taken by our Engliſhe ſhippes.

If you will knowe what theſe his great charges are, on which hee is enforced to employ them. Firſt, conſider that he ſcarcely holdeth any countrey in which hee is not conſtrained to holde garriſons of ſouldiers. As for theſe lowe Countries, I knowe it vppon good and aſſured grounds, there hath beene no yeere theſe twenty yeeres, but they haue coſt him one with another two millions and more yeerely aboue the reuenue and other commodities receyued thereout, and yet howe beggarly his ſouldiers are vſed, you haue heard before.

The reſt, for *Naples*, *Cicilia*, *Portugall maiorque*, *minorque*, the frontires of *Arragon* and *Nauarre*, and *Lombardie*: hee is faine to be at the charge of many ſtrong and mighty garriſons by lande, and in the moſt of them mame Gallyes or other ſhipping in the Hauens, and all along the Sea-

coaſts,

coaſts, none of which he can for his life diminiſh, for his gouernment is ſo hateful, that none of theſe prouinces are his any longer than hee hath their heades in the bridle. And beſides, his prouinces ſtand ſo ſeuered and diſunited, that the tranſporting of his nauie from one to an other is infinite chargeable vnto him, inſomuch that I haue heard ſome of his commiſsioners here ſweare, that there is no crowne of his that commeth from Spaine into theſe Countries by land, but ſtandeth them in fiue rialles, ſo infinite is the charge of carriages, conuoyes and commiſſaries, to deliuer and receiue the ſame.

Beſides all this, he diſburſeth yeerely mighty ſummes of mony to the Perſian, to the end to keep the Turke occupyed, of whom he ſtandeth mightily in feare: and truely he hath reaſon, if her Maieſty would condeſcend to ſuch conditions as haue beene by this Turke to her propoſed. But ſhee like a chriſtian Princeſſe, how greatly ſoeuer to her aduantage the ſame might be, will not do any thing whereby chriſtianity might hereafter ſeeme to receiue any detriment.

As for *Polonia*, the ſame hath beene incredible chargeable vnto him, aſwell for the mighty bribes beſtowed vpon the nobles of the country, as alſo the charges of a great army of *Rewtiers*: he ſent his kinſman *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, what by force and what by help of the part which he had gained, and with his treaſures, thought to inueſt him in the king-

kingdome. The ſucceſſe of which enterpriſe I wold not write, being to the whole world notorious and knowen. In the conſiſtorie of Rome hee is faine to entertaine a great number of thoſe hungrie Cardinals in penſion and fee, thereby to gaine theyr voices when need requireth, which liberalitie of his he cannot by anie meanes withdrawe, for in ſo doing, he ſhould be aſſured to haue them his enemies, and contrarie to his proceedings.

Laſtly, for concluſion, hee maketh at this inſtant open warres with France, England, and the Lowe counties. What deeme you then heereof? Hath he not (trow you) vent for his treaſures? His father was a better ſouldier and a greater man of warre than he is, and as mightie a prince euerie deale (his Portugal Indians onely excepted) in place of which he quietly inioyed theſe his Lowe countries, which in reſpect of theyr great oppulencie, abundance of riches, & conuenientnes of ſcituation, were to them accounted nothing inferior. And yet he neuer dared attempt to make warres vpon France alone, but he firſt ſought by all poſsible meanes to aſſure himſelfe in friendſhip with England, giuing to that end great and mightie preſents to Cardinall *Wolſey*, and others of the councell, that in thoſe daies were with her Maieſties father of worthie memorie, K. *Henrie* the eight: whereas his ſonne makes war with all the world careleſly at once, but the Italians haue a true prouerbe, *Cum tutto abracciames iuná ſtring*. And ſo I hope it ſhall fare with him.

Now as touching thoſe his mightie and puiſant

numbers of men which they ſay he is able to make, I take vpon me to know the ſtate of his forces aſwell as other, and I herein of all other men know him to be moſt needie & wanting. For as for Spaine, Naples, and Lombardie, of which his onely force conſiſteth, and which are his chiefeſt ſtore-houſes of men, it is ſufficiently knowen that his drums haue gone a whole yeere beating vp and downe, according as theyr maner is, to get together ſix thouſand men, and thoſe all ſhepheardes, hedgebreakers, and ſuch idle trewantly rogues, the moſt part of which hee is forced to put in garriſon for a yeere or two to faſhion them, before hee ſend them to ſeruice. I ſaw about two yeeres agone a freſh leuie that came out of *Paſtrania*, who put them preſently in the caſtle of *Antwarpe*, drawing out the olde garriſon, the moſt ſilly naked ſnakes that euer I ſawe in my lyfe, ſuch, as in my conſcience, a man in deed would beat ten of them.

As for Germanie, out of the which heeretofore hee hath drawen greate numbers, and by theyr help done great matters before *Muſtrig* in *Freiſland*, and thoſe places, his vſage hath bene ſo baſe and miſerable vnto them, that the old ſouldiers are all ſtarued and conſumed in his ſeruice, whoſe calamitie hath ſo terrfied the reſt at home, that no prince in Europe hath leſſe credite to raiſe men there than hee. And although there were no ſuch matter, yet they are no waie more bound vnto him than to an other, theyr profeſsion beeing to ſerue onely him beſt that will pay them beſt, and yet if hee ſhoulde

raiſe

raiſe anie of the allyaunces of her Maieſtie, and the ſcituation of their Countrie conſidered, it ſhoulde be a matter of great difficultie to ioyne them wyth his other troups. Where are then his innumerable legions, with which hee meanes to ouercome the world? Alliance hee hath none, vnleſſe it bee wyth the rebellious league of France: of them he can receiue no aide nor comfort, themſelues being miſerable and diſtreſſed, by reaſon wherof, moſt burdenous vnto him, & yet there is no man liuing in the world leſſe beholding vnto them than he. For notwithſtanding all his aſsiſtance, they woulde neuer yeeld to receiue his forces into their townes or fortreſſes, ſeruing only their turnes on him for the preſent time.

As for the Pope and the Princes of Italy, what fayre weather ſo euer they do beare him, he neither truſteth them, nor they him, and great reaſon they haue ſo to do. And wythall, this malediction hangeth vppon him, that as hee is of all forraine Nations diſtruſted, doubted, and abhorred, ſo both hee and the very name of a Spaniard is moſt loathſome and hatefull to the reſt of his owne ſubiects. Inſomuch, that in Millaine the young Gentlemen haue a paſtime by night, which they call *Caccia a Marran*, that is, putting on a viſard on their face by night, they goe with their long Rapiers or picked Baſtinadoes vnder their cloakes, out into the Towne to ſeeke Spaniardes in the ſtewes, or anie other place where they thinke they are lykely to finde anie of them: vnto whome they giue as manye ſtabbes

and blowes that they can laie vpon them, insomuch that the Spaniards dare not for their eares abide out of the castle after shutting in of the gates. As for his dealing in Portugall, who knowes not his cruell tyrannie, and the hatred they beare him?

But now come to her MAIESTIE, & you shall find another manner of state of matters, her realme plentifully abounding in men of warlike disposition, of whom she is loued & adored: her warres are iust, charitable, godly, & defensiue, for maintenance of which, besides the trust that she reposeth in God, who hath hetherto mightily and miraculously defended her, she is alied in straight league, friendship & confederation with the most victorious & christian king of France, with the kings of Denmarke & Scotland, with the Switzers, and with sundrie princes and states of the Empire, al being her neighbors dominions vnited with hers, and thereby readie to assist, aid, & succor one another in all such occasions as shall or may happen. All this then considered, tell me, I prie you what occasion of feare or misdoubt you haue. If you thinke the English valor not to be compared with that of the Spaniard, reade but the Chronicles, and you shall finde how much you are deceiued: you shall finde that a small armie of English men, vnder the conduct of that worthie prince of Wales, eldest sonne to Edward the third, passed in despight of them thorough *Canarre* into *Spaine*, and there in the middest and bowels of their owne countrie, ouerthrew at *Nadres* their vsurping king, *Henry* the bastard (of whose race this man is descen-

ded by his grandmother) being accompanied with the nobilitie of the countrie, and 60000. of the brauest fighting men in Spaine, & so vtterly ouerthrew him, that they erected king in his place *Don Pedro*, their iust & lawfull prince of that kingdome, whom by maine force they constrained all their cities and noble men of the countrie to receiue. Read besides the valorous conquests atchieued by *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, brother vnto the sayde prince, in *Callicia*, against *Don Iohn*, sonne of the sayd *Henrie*, the vsurping bastard: besides, the chronicles of Portugal are full of the marcriall prowesse of the English, & glorious victories obtained in seruice of their king, to whose aide they were called against the sayde king of *Castile*.

But what need I runne backe into the passed ages to seeke examples? Looke but into the incounters that haue bene of late dales betweene them and vs, either by sea or lande, and you shall finde that they haue alwaies carried the blowes. As by land, at the encountering of *Grane*, and that of *Sutphen*, where the honor of the world and ornament of England, sir *P. Sidney* by his aduenturous valor was slaine, besides many other bickerings and skirmishes of lesse moment needles to recite. Of sea matters, I account it bootlesse to speake, so greatly and aboue measure glorious is the fame, & bruited through the world: of the worthie voiages of sir *F. Drake*, sir *I. Haukins*, sir *M. Frobisher*, *C. Raimar*, and the rest of the braue and courageous Gentlemen, who for the benefit of their countrie, haue not spared to make aduenture

of their liues and fortunes.

But if you desire one example of all, let that then serue of his huge late fleet, with which, Golyas like, hee threatned heauen and earth, & with which he thought to haue circumuented and surprised at vnawares her Maiestie, whilest falsely, wickedly, and a busiuely, hee entertained her Graces Commissioners in Flanders with a treatie of peace. To which her Highnesse lyke a Christian princesse, and for to auoide the effusion of Christian bloud, was very vnclinable. But God, as he hath alwaies done, so at this time did he miraculously protect her Maiesty in such sort, that through the great, careful, and exceeding valorous resolution of that most worthie and renowmed Gentleman the Lorde Admirall of England, of whose courageous behauiour and terrour, with which he amazed them, the verie enemy himselfe, though against his will, makes worthie mention. They were with a small number of English so fiercely and vigorously encountered, that their resistance not preuailing them, they were scattered, chased, and vtterly discomfited, in such sorte as the whole world knoweth, so that *Lucans* verse, me thinkes, may verie fitly bee applyed vnto them, *Terrina quæsitis ostendunt terga Britannis.*

Besides, what better triall can you haue of the valour of their nation than this, being thirtie thousand, the creame of all their forces, and aboute the assembling of which he had bene three yeres busied, yet when they came vpon the coast of *England*, dared not to land a man: whereas were the nexte

yeere

yeere following with a little Nauie, containing not aboue eleuen thousand men, vnder the conduct of the two most renowmed Captaines, sir *Iohn Norris* and sir *Frances Drake*, landed in Spaine, burnt his shipping, put his people to the sword, & his townes to the fire, and coasted thence along into Portugal, and there landing, marched in his countrie, euen to his gates of *Leisbone*, with drums sounding, and ensignes displayed: from whence wee returned vnfought withall by anie of his forces either by sea or land.

These things well considered, mee thinkes you haue greater reason to hope one daie to see English Ensignes displayed in *Madrill*, together wyth the vtter ruine of that proude tyrant of Spaine and his holy father the pope, with all their rabble, than anie waie to feare him or his proceedings. And yet there is one point besides all the aboue rehearsed, out of which wee may receiue singular comfort, as that which of all other most deepely vexeth and afflicteth his cogitations, and which, no doubt, before it be long, wil giue vs a great aduantage against him, and that is, the contention which hee seeth to spring vp in his owne house, of which I will briefly discourse vnto you the occasions, because you shall vnderstand the same the beeter.

Hee hath by seuerall wiues three children liuing, two Daughters and one sonne, the Sonne young of yeeres, sickly of bodie, pale and weake of complexion, of wit poore and vnfurnished, in a manner a very idiot.

His

His eldeſt daughter, whom they cal *La Infante* of Spaine, a woman as by birth great, ſo proud exceedingly, haughtie minded, and aboue meaſure aſpiring, prudent, in her ſpeeches maieſticall, in her countenance and actions couragious: her he hath alwaies noriſhed vnder his owne wing, acquainting her euen from her cradle, with matters of ſtate and gouernment. In which now by reaſon of her long traine and experience therein, ſhee is exceedingly practiſed and ripe. With her what waightie matter ſo euer hee vndertaketh, hee participateth the ſame before, demanding her aduice and counſell, ſpending ſometimes whole halfe daies they two in communication together. Vpon her (the youths weakneſſe & ſimplicitie of the yong prince conſidered) are the eies of all men throwen, vppon her depend the nobilitie, gentility, and commons, and innumerable troups of ſutors, into whoſe hearts ſhe hath ſo inſinuated her ſelfe, that they doo beare an exceeding loue and reuerence towards her, many mightie men haue bin offered her in marriage, as the Emperour *Rodolph*, the king of Scotland, and diuers other, but ſhe vntil ſhe ſee what wil become of her father, whome ſhe ſeeth olde, oppreſſed with infinit cares, and not likely long to liue, vppon whoſe death, her actions and manner of life doth aſſuredly ſhew, that ſhee is not of mettall ſufficient to giue place to the young idiot her brother, but at leaſt ſhe meanes to part ſtakes with him.

In Spaine ſhe knowes there is no lawe Salike, to bridle her ambitious thoughtes, but women maye ſucceed

ſucceed as men, for ſo grandmother *Iouina* did *Ferdinando* her father. Hauing theſe examples before her eies, ſhe feedeth her mind with high and ambitious deſyres, of which ſhe hath made ſo cleere and euident demonſtrations, that her father to preuent this miſchiefe that hee feareth, was forced this laſt yeere to aſſemble the whole eſtates of Spaine, & to make them ſweare to be true vnto his ſonne, whom hee preſently cauſed to keepe his court a part, ſending him ſundrie of his councell, and commanding the nobilitie to bee attendant on him, acquainting him, as much as in them lyeth, with managing of matters of waight, eſtate, and gouernment. Beſides, it is heere bruited for certaine amongeſt vs, that the preſident of *Artois Richardot*, who the Duke of *Parma* had ſent into *Spaine*, to make his excuſes and iuſtifications againſt certaine pointes of treaſon, of which he was by the Duke of *Paſtrana* and prince of *Aſtoly* accuſed to the king, is now returned with commiſſion to aſſemble the nobles & ſtates of theſe Countries, and to cauſe them to take the like oath to his ſonne, thereby to preuent as well his daughter as the Duke of *Parma* of their conceiued hopes.

But now to come to his ſecond daughter, whom he hath long ſithence beſtowed in marriage vppon the Duke of *Sauoy*, with abſolute promiſe & ſolemne vow betweene him and her, to leaue her a kingdom for her dowrie. She is a princeſſe in ambition and high deſire nothing vnequall to her ſiſter, but in wit & courage far her inferior, ſhe & her husband both alreadie take vpon them in their maner, ſtile, and

vſage, a ſtate and title far beyond their dignity, conuenient onely vnto kings. *Alteſſa* is the meaneſt phraſe they will be ſpoken in vnto, refuſing any letters that are not ſo intituled, for ſuch is the will and pleaſure of the king her father. Naples & the Dutchie of Millaine they haue alreadie deuoured in theyr hopes, which if her father at his death leaue not quietly vnto them, they will be ſo bold as ſtrain curteſie with his ſon, to get them perforce if he can. On the other ſide, the ſtates of Italy like not ſuch a mightie neighbor amongſt them, and therefore to preuent both him and his father in lawes deſſeignment, haue made a moſt ſtraight ſecret league & alliance among themſelues, tearming the ſame *Ragoyne de State:* in which are compriſed the pope, the Venetians, the Duke of Florence, the Duke of Parma, the Dukes of Vrbine, Mantua, and Ferrara: the duke of Parma dared not to enter in among them, but is forced, though none more agreed, to diſſemble and temporize: than he for a while, he knoweth that the king hath bene exceeding ielous, and ſeeketh, though ſlily and diſſemblingly, his life, honour, and reputation. But aboue al, the diſſention of Portugall, to which hee perſwadeth himſelfe to haue right, as in truth his title is better than that of the king of Spaines, ſticketh deepe in his ſtomacke, *Manet alta monte repoſtum*, and wee doubt not but one daie, when occaſion ſhall ſerue, hee will make the worlde witneſſe of his diſcontentment, which the king well knoweth and greatly feareth, but he muſt haue patience, for he can hardly remedie it, vnleſſe

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the duke will wittingly ouerthrow himselfe, especially hauing these meanes in his handes which he hath, not onely to worke his owne securitie, but to crie quittance also when time shall serue.

But hauing now exceeded the limits of a Letter, it is time I refraine my pen, hoping that these alledged demonstrations shall, if not to worke the good effect which I desire in you & other Gentlemen of my Countrie, yet at the least to manifest the dutiful zeale and loue I beare to the state of my Countrie, as to all faithfull members thereof, in participating vnto them such things as by painful and dangerous experience I haue gathered, and do thinke necessarie to be knowen, wherein I haue vsed such truth, that I hope no man liuing shall be able to disproue mee, though I doubt not but the same shall bee by some malitiously censured, and my selfe subiect to abide the brunt of their mallice, beeing assured that I shall not auoid the poisoned rancor of their infamous defaming tongues and pens. For seeing they spare not in their traiterous speeches and infamous pamphlets, princes, noble men, & counsellors, men of great authoritie & vertue, it were folly for me to looke to scape scot-free. But such is the ioye I conceiue in my good meaning, that I shall receiue comfort thereof, as a thing greatly redounding to my credit, of such men as they are to be ill spoken of.

Now lastly for conclusion, whereas you write that if there were no other benefite to be gotten in these partes, but attaining the languages of foreine nations, with the knowledge of militarie discipline

and affayres of matter of ſtate, wherein you heare my ſelfe & others your country-men haue in theſe parts greatly profited themſelues, it were a motion ſufficient not onely to make you leaue your countrie for a time, but to hazard your ſelfe to anie dangers in forain parts, I haue thought good therein to let you vnderſtand, that albeit I muſt confeſſe, that I haue in thoſe things profited more perchaunce, (without oſtentatiõ be it ſpoken) than others of our nation, for the moſt part haue done: yet as the time now ſerueth, and the caſe now ſtandeth at this preſent, there is no poſsibilitie that you or anie other may in farre longer time than I haue ſpent, attayne to the like: and if you could, yet the dangers that in aduenturing the ſame you ſhoulde indure, were farre greater than the benefites you could poſsibly reape, might in anie wiſe counteruaile, were they ſuch as might anſwere your expectation. In which reſpect, I praie you firſt conſider, that when I came firſt ouer hether, the wars then here vndertaken ſeemed & were in apparance to all the manner ſort of men in the worlde. But inteſtine warres betweene the prince and his ſubiects, ſuch as no other foraine prince, and moſt eſpecially our moſt noble Queene & Soueraigne, was then nothing intereſted: whereas ſince it hath bin made manifeſt to the world, that theſe wars and iniuries offered by the king of *Spaine* to thoſe of the Low countries, whoſe laws, cuſtoms and priuiledges, he hath moſt violently, tyranouſly, wrongfully, and periuredly broken, whereby hee hath freed them from his ſubiection, yoake, and tyranie,

ranie, and iustly and deseruedly for euer lost al such preheminences, prerogatiues, authoritie, and iurisdiction as he pretended ouer them, as more amply appeareth in the ancient records of the priuiledges of these nations, which both he & his predecessors at their entrie of gouernment into these prouinces haue solemnly vowed and sworne to maintaine all in generall, and euerie in particular inuiolate, & vppon that couenant and condition they haue reciprocally sworn to him due fidelitie and obeisance, he fayling in the one, they to be exempted from the other. Noreouer, her Maiestie seeing the lamentable and most pittifull cause of her distressed neighbours and allies, finding no other possible meanes by laborers, sutes, messages, & sundrie Embassadors which she most honorably sent to the king of *Spain* for pacifieng the sayd troubles, and reconciling the sayd king and those: sometimes his sayd subiectes haue bene inforced to take pittie and commiseration of their most miserable and afflicted estate and distresse, and for their reliefe, to her excessiue & almost importable charges, to vndertake a most iust, godly, and charitable defensiue warre against those that daily seeke the bloud, liues, goods, lands and liberties of the inhabitants of the sayd distressed nations. Since which being published, I thinke it not onely vnlawful, but also a most hainous and capital crime and offence for any her Maiesties subiectes to serue on the contrarie part.

Besides, it shal be good for you & all other good subiects of her Maiesties, to remember that consideration being had by her Maiestie and her most

honorable prudent councel, of the looſenes of many of her ſubiects, and ſmall reſpect they had to her Highnes & country, & as litle to their owne ſafety, hir Maieſtie hath cauſed to be publiſhed & ſet forth diuerſe lawes, ordinances, proclamations, and inhibitions, whereby all her ſubiects, (except knowen marchants and ſtraungers) are ſtraightly forbidden to paſſe the ſeas into anie forraine parts without eſpeciall liſence of her Maieſtie at this time. Therefore if you or anie other her Graces ſubiects, ſhall nowe attempt to paſſe the ſeas without lawfull liſence, there is no reaſon why you ſhuld expect anie other than the rigor of the laws and iuſtice, & to be holden guiltie of caſes capitall, eſpecially ſuch as ſhall ſerue vnder ſo open and profeſſed an enemie to the crowne and ſtate.

Further, I praie you to haue in conſideration, that when I came ouer hether, the caſe ſo ſtoode, as all Gentlemen of anie quality or merit, were gratefully receiued, and imploied in good & honorable ſeruices: whereas ſince the Spaniard hath profeſſed himſelfe open enemie to her Maieſtie and the ſtate of her Realme, he hath had all Engliſh men in verie baſe account, beeing ielous & extremely ſuſpitious of thoſe that bee moſt inward with him, & who for his ſake haue made ſhipwracke not only of their honor and credit, but alſo of their loialtie, duetie, & allegeance to her Maieſtie and their natiue country. Examples whereof are infinite, & partly touched in my Diſcourſe before ſet downe.

Beſides, ther is of late crept into that nation a viperous brood of Ieſuits & prieſts, moſt dangerous & maliti-

malitious enemies to her Maieſtie, and to their owne countrie vile and pernitious, inſtruments of the pope and his adherents, who daily (as it is manifeſt to them that haue knowledge and experience of them & their actions) ſeeke nothing more than the vtter ruine, pulling downe, and deſtruction of her Maieſtie and theyr countrie, which bred and nouriſhed them, & al true profeſſors of the Goſpell and chriſtian religion thoroughout chriſtendome, he therefore that thinketh to liue amongſt theſe pernitious people in anie credit or account, let him, as he worthily doth deſerue, bee accounted beſides his wits, or els diſobedient and traiterous to God, her Maieſtie, & his countrie.

As for my part, ſeeing the impietie of this place and the wicked and deteſtable end whereto their drifts & practiſes are directed, I haue long ſince retired my ſelf, liuing aloofe from them, abandoning and vtterly reiecting the merit of my long ſeruice, & all ſuch hopes and prefermentes, which I might as well as anie man elſe of my qualitie of my nation haue pretended and ſhould haue as ſoone obtained. And haue euer ſince by all poſsible meanes, as well by my ſelfe as by my friends, laboured with her Maieſties moſt honourable priuie councel about my returne, which by the ſpeciall grace & benignity of my Soueraigne, I am in comfort ſhortly to obtaine, deſiring to ſpend my poore talent, and the reſidue of my life in the ſeruice of her Maieſtie, my moſt honorable princeſſe & ſoueraigne Ladie, whom God of his euerlaſting goodneſſe bleſſe with many yeres, & endles proſperity, to the ioy of hir ſubiects, and all faithfull chriſtians diſperſed throughout the whole world. *Finis.*

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